1: Karsten--3 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 177 (1928-29)

"Although the Jibaros have been in contact with the whites for many centuries, and although repeated attempts have been made to 'civilize' them, they have been able to maintain both their political and their cultural independence up to the present time. Only in their material culture can European influence be traced, although to a very limited extent. Their intellectual culture and their social customs have remained unaltered. Thus, for instance, the custom of head-hunting, which has made the Jibaros especially famous, is still practised in its original form among most tribes, being connected with rites and ceremonies of exceptional interest. Similarly, in their religion they are, as far as I can see, quite unaffected by Christian ideas, notwithstanding the assiduous efforts of the Catholic missionaries to convert them."

l: Karsten--20 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 177 (1928-29)

"....the Jibaros have been very little influenced by Christian civilization, so they have very few culture elements which are obviously loans from other peoples. Still, as we have seen, the origin of the Jibaro culture is obscure--just like the ethnic origin of the whole Jibaro race--and we have no means of tracing its first development. In any case, it is a fact that the Indians are very proud of their own culture, extremely conservative in keeping up their ancient customs 'handed down from their ancestors', as they say themselves, and averse to innovations of whatever kind they may be. This conservative character of the Jibaros accounts for the fact that their native culture has, at least in its principal traits, been preserved up to our days. But such a state of things cannot of course continue for long. In the most recent years there have appeared signs which seem to show that civilization is making rapid progress even in these remote parts of South America, and that at any rate the Upano and the Morona tribes are gradually losing the independence they have hitherto enjoyed. If this is so, it is no exaggeration to say that this exceptionally interesting Indian culture will soon be a thing of the past, and that it is in the last hour that the studies have been carried out..."

k: Karsten--53 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
16, 177 (1928-29)

"Although not comparable with the old Sevilla de Oro, Macas is nevertheless quite a big place, having some three or four hundred inhabitants. All of these are mestizos, of a kind found nowhere else in Ecuador. To a great extent they are no doubt descendants of those Jibaro Indians who destroyed the town in 1599 and the white women, who became the captors and wives of the victors. They still have many traits in common with their savage neighbours; their mode of life and their customs are in many respects the same, as also their character. Thus, although the 'Macabeos' are of course strictly Catholic in their religion, they adhere to the old custom of blood-revenge, particularly characteristic of the Jibaros to this very day. They are intelligent, brave, active, and industrious, just as are the Jibaros. Owing to these qualities and to the extraordinary fertility of the soil, agriculture is highly developed and cattle-breeding is an important occupation."

"The village is situated in the midst of the virgin forest and practically embedded in vegetation. Through its centre a broad pathway runs from which narrower sinuous side-ways branch off to the right and the left. One of these leads to a high hill where the convent and the church are situated. On all sides the village is surrounded by high hills covered with forests, and towards the south-west the majestic volcano Sangay raises its crater, covered with eternal snow, towards the sky. It is difficult to imagine a place more picturesque and better endowed by nature. Still this village all through bears a primitive stamp. The houses are of the same kind as the great communal houses of the Jibaros, although they are generally smaller and constructed with less care. The interior with its earthen floor, the bedsteads of split bamboo, and the almost total absence of furniture in the strict sense of the word, also reminds one of the Jibaro houses. Even a great signal drum, of the same type as that [54] of the Indians, is as a rule found in the houses at Macas. Just as the Jibaros beat the drum to communicate for instance to the neighbours that a death has taken place in the house, so the Macabeos do the same, a custom which makes a strange impression upon a European visitor.

The dress of the inhabitants of Macas is almost as primitive as that of their savage neighbours, consisting principally of a loin-cloth and a shirt. Trousers are seldom worn and shoes never. During wanderings in the forest the Macabeo wears a sort of sandal made of cowhide. On such occasions moreover he always carries that indis-

pensable weapon and implement of the South America forest-wanderer, the big forest-knife, machete, and usually his old-fashioned shot-gun, a muzzle-loader, which he prefers to guns or rifles of modern make. I never had companions more expert in cutting through the thickets of the virgin forest, in crossing rapid rivers in canoes, and generally in overcoming all the numerous difficulties which meet a traveller in the South American wilderness.

The character of the Macabeo shows the same general features as that of the Ecuadorian mestizo, although with certain peculiar traits due, I think to his Jivaro descent. He is cheerful, good-hearted, and extremely hospitable, loving, as do all mestizos, dancing and merry-making, wine and women. The 'wine' is the chuya, the national drink of the inhabitants of Macas, brewed of maize and sugar cane which is boiled and allowed to ferment. The chuya is quite intoxicating, and since at the great drinking-feasts it is consumed in enormous quantities, these feasts not seldom end in quarrels and fights, and even manslaughter. The public feasts at Macas in general are little edifying. An important role in them is played by the cock-fights which here, as elsewhere Ecuador, form the most popular public amusement. Another game which is frequently witnessed is the following. A living cock is buried in the earth so that only the head and the neck protrude. One of the men taking part in the game is blind-folded and is given a machete. He is taken to the place where the cock is buried and

starts to strike with his machete along the ground in all directions, his task being to cut off the cock's head with so and so many strokes; if he is successful the beheaded cock becomes his property. This is repeated with another man and another cock, and so forth. These rude amusements are very characteristic of the cruelty to animals which in South America is so often displayed both by mestizos and whites.

I have mentioned before that some of the natives of Macas know the Jibaro language fairly well and that during my travels in the regions [55] of Upano and Pastaza I was always accompanied by servants and interpreters from Macas. One of my best companions was an elderly man, Dionysio Rivadeneira by name, who knew the Indians well and was a great help to me in studying their customs and language. Although Don Dionysio had many friends among the Jibaros he sometimes, owing to his hot temper, quarrelled with them. When I visited Macas the last time in 1929 my old friend was seriously ill; according to his own belief he had been poisoned by an Indian enemy on the Upano. The Jibaros, it should be added, know certain vegetable poisons which they use against their secret enemies, especially against the whites, since according to their idea the magic arrow of the Indians has no effect upon a white man. Whether Don Dionysio's misgivings as to the origin of his illness were justified, I was not able to establish."

1: Karsten--92-93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177 (1928-29)

"In many of their necklaces and other ornaments the Indians insert small white, red, and blue beads obtained from the whites. They are [93] quite common even among the savage Jibaros, who especially use them for the kind of collar called shaúka."

l: Karsten--93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301, 177 (1928-29)

"As to the personal ornaments of the CANELOS INDIANS I may add that they are in some respects less characteristic, owing to the fact that they have in part adopted European dress. Thus they nowadays use neither ear and lip-tubes nor ear-pendants. Their necklaces are chiefly made of dry fruit shells and snail's shells as well as of monkey's teeth. But the Canelos Indians are particularly famous for their feather ornaments (tawaiamba), which are more varied than those of the Jibaros and are among the most magnificent found in any South American tribe."

k: Karsten--116-117 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177 (1928-29)

"Pigs and fowls were early introduced among the Jibaros by the Spaniards, at any rate among the tribes of the Santiago and the Upano, where they are still commonly kept as domestic animals. That these animals have long been known to the Jibaros, may be inferred from the important part that the ceremonial slaughter of the swine plays at the great feasts, in which old customs are conservatively kept up. All Jibaro tribes, however, do not seem to possess swine. At any rate the [117] Achuares, at the time when I visited them, had not these domestic animals, nor did I see any among the Aguarunas of Peru."

I: Karsten--175 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177, 789 (1928-29)

"Most Indian tribes in Eastern Ecuador nowadays practise angling, using hooks received from the whites. Before the iron hooks were introduced, crooked bones were used for this purpose. Pieces of flesh and certain seeds serve as baits when angling. When the Indian throws out the line he whistles a chant in order to attract the fish."

l: Karsten--208
116, 584, 177

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The customs observed at marriage by the Indians of Canelos essentially differ from those of the Jibaros proper. The former have on this point been influenced by the mountain Indians, as is also the case with the Napo Indians, whereas the latter have kept up usages which have been followed within the Jibaro nation since times immemorial. As to the Canelos Indians, we have to remember that they are now nominally Christians and that their marriages as a rule sooner or later receive ecclesiastical confirmation. The practices described below, however, are in the main genuinely Indian and of considerable interest."

1: Karsten--213-214 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 587, 177, 761 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, who are now under the influence of Christianity, there is no time fixed for the widow before she can remarry. However, the same ideas as to the jealousy of the deceased husband prevail as among the Jibaros, in spite of the fact that most marriages receive the blessing of the Church, and it is always considered to be more or less risky for a man to marry a widow; he may die soon afterwards. A very startling instance of this once came under my notice, which at the same time is interesting as showing how strongly self-suggestion works upon the Indian. At Sarayacu, a small village situated three days' journey south of Canelos, there lived a woman of whom the rumour was current that every man who married her died soon afterwards. It was not dangerous to live in free sexual relation with her, but to contract a legal marriage with her through the Church was considered fatal. Four men who had married her earlier were said to have died an untimely death. In March 1917 when the Father came from Canelos on his usual yearly visit of inspection he was told that the woman lived with a fifth man. The Father tried to induce the man to legalize his connection with the woman by a church ceremony, but the Indian made objections mentioning the rumours which were current about the woman. Finaly, [sic] however, he yielded to the persuasive power of the monk, and said with the resignation characteristic of the Indian: 'Since you wish me to marry her, I will do so, but I am sure that I shall die.' A few days after the marriage ceremony had taken place I happened to come to Sarayacu,

just in time to witness the final catastrophe. Early in the morning a friend of the newly-married Indian arrived at the mission reporting: 'Manuel (this was the Indian's Christian name) is ill, probably he will die.' The Father paid no attention to this message, taking the whole thing to be but one of the usual superstitions of the Indians. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, however, another Indian arrived saying: 'Manuel is worse, he will certainly die.' The Father now went to see the sick Indian who lived at some distance from the mission. When he returned he told me that he had found the stomach of the Indian somewhat swollen. 'Probably he suffers from colic', he added, 'but I cannot understand why his life should be in danger.' However, late in [214] the evening there came a third message saying: 'Manuel is dead.' On the following morning the Indian was buried.

The mysterious influence which imagination and the firm belief in witchcraft exerts upon the Indian even physically is a chapter apart. I shall have an opportunity to refer to this fact again later on."

1: Karsten--217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 164, 177 (1928-29)

"Unnatural vices are rare or wholly unknown both among the savage Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. Thus I have never heard either of homosexual customs or sodomy. As to venereal diseases, they are, as far as I know, as yet unknown to the majority of the Jibaro tribes. Among the half-civilized Canelos Indians, who have been more in contact with the whites, they seem to be more prevalent, but even among them they are at present rare."

l: Karsten--232 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 163, 842, 177 (1928-29)

"The number of children in a Jibaro family is generally great, partly of course owing to the existence of polygamy. The Jibaro man wants to have as many children as possible and it may happen--although of course only in exceptional cases--that he has ten children from the same woman. He is rightly of opinion that richness in wives and in children means richness in general, and that it adds to the power of the family and the tribe. He appreciates female children just as much as male children; both are in their way equally useful, and for the same reason he has, as we have seen, no objection to the birth of twins, against whom the Jibaros have not the same prejudice as most other Indians of Western Amazonas. If nevertheless the Jibaro tribes have constantly diminished, this is due to particular reasons, partly to the great mortality of Indian children in general in the first years of life, partly to the wars of extermination carried on between the different Jibaro tribes. The contact with the white race not only indirectly promotes a diminution of the Indians, but seems to have a direct, unfavourable influence upon nativity. This we may infer from the fact that in the families of the Canelos Indians the children are as a rule far fewer than among their savage neighbours, a state of things that can be observed almost everywhere in South America."

I: Karsten--242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 881, 177, 276, 861 (1928-29)

"So far I have only related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaro Indians. Of the CANELOS INDIANS there is, on this point, little to say. There is no doubt that formerly they observed much the same customs as the savage Jibaros, but with the dissolution of their tribal organization, and owing the influence of Christian civilization, these customs already belong to the past. Thus although, as we shall see, narcotics play a quite important part among them, they have no puberty ceremonies in the proper sense of the word either for boys or girls, and being as they are, at least nominally, children of the mission, their own educational systems have long ago degenerated. This is particularly true of the moral influence of their native education. On the other hand, the Canelos Indians also give their children instruction in certain occupations which, according to their division of labour, are incumbent on men and on women, as in certain industrial tasks--for instance the making of arrow-poison, drums, etc., and in pottery making--which are still on a comparatively high level among these half-civilized Indians."

1: Karsten--249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 619, 439, 177 (1928-29)

"As appears from the Enéma conversation, the Indians sometimes visit each other for the purpose of bartering, and this kind of friendly communication between the sub-tribes may be contrasted with the still more common wars and blood-feuds. Since those tribes who do not reckon blood-relationship live mostly on a hostile footing with one another, it is only in exceptional cases that such tribes associate in the friendly way that barter requires. The different economic conditions under which the different tribes live may, however, compel them to enter into temporary relations with each other. Thus even their natural hatred for the whites has not prevented the Jibaros from having commercial relations with them for the purpose of obtaining things which are extremely useful or absolutely necessary, like axes, knives, guns, and rifles, as well as gun-powder. I have alluded before to the dirty trade in human heads (tsantsas) between the Jibaros and white 'merchants', and of which we may say that it has encouraged inter-tribal wars and thus contributed towards the diminution of the Jibaro race. Of a harmless nature, on the other hand, has been the trade which the Jibaros on the Upano, Santiago, and Morona have carried on with the mestizos of Macas, who receive all their salt from the Jibaros, as well as such things as deer's flesh, copal, blowguns, etc. The Jibaros of these regions in return receive swine and fowls, guns, powder, knives, axes, and linen chiefly from Macas. Among themselves the different Jibaro sub-tribes mainly barter blowguns, arrow-poison, and arrows--which, as we have seen, must be

made of a special kind of palm not obtainable everywhere--as well as hunting dogs and salt. Between the Indians of the mission of Canelos and the savage Jibaros a friendly barter is carried on which contrasts favourably with the hostility generally prevailing between them in former times. Above all the Jibaros receive from Canelos their 'small drums' (uchíchi tambora), some of their arrow-poison, and arrows of the inayu palm. The Canelos Indians obtain in return blowguns and hunting dogs. It is chiefly in this way that, in spite of all hostilities separating the different tribes, friendly communication is maintained between them, and culture elements are spread in these parts of Western Amazonas."

1: Karsten--250-251
674, 177

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Theft is unknown in the social life of the Jibaros, at least among the tribes unaffected by Christian civilization. To steal [251] from a person who has never offended him is clearly at variance with that strong sense of justice which is one of the moral characteristics of the Jibaro. Unfortunately it is otherwise with the half-civilized and now more or less degenerated Canelos Indians, among whom I heard of several serious cases of theft."

I: Karsten--251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 577, 177, 152 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with the honesty characteristic of the Jibaro Indian in his natural state is his faithfulness to his word. When I engaged the Indians to carry my baggage, I usually paid them in advance, so-and-so many yards of linen for a journey of so-and-so many days. When the Indians had received the payment this amounted to an engagement, and I could as a rule be sure that they would keep it and be ready to start on the day fixed for the journey. If for some reason, for instance owing to sickness, the Indian was unable to start, he returned the linen paid to him in advance. In this respect, however, the savage Jibaros were much more reliable than the 'Christian' Canelos Indians. The former never failed to fulfil their promises, whereas on the other hand the latter deceived me in at least one case, and I was told that other travellers had had similar experiences. Honesty and good faith are among those natural virtues which the Indians easily lose through contact with civilization.

Such at any rate is the Indian's morality in relation to a person who has his confidence. I do not think that truthfulness is generally a social virtue he displays in dealing with his fellow-tribesmen. The continual wars carried on between the tribes through the centuries, the necessity for the Jibaro Indian always to be on the alert against the evil designs of open or secret enemies, has naturally made him more or less treacherous and inclined to dissimulation. The Jibaro Indian may be frank and sincere to the person he trusts, but of persons whom he does not know he is suspicious, and persons whom he regards as his enemies he will deceive in the most deliberate way."

1: Karsten--262 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177 (1928-29)

"...before the use of firearms was so general among the Jibaros as it is now, the chiefs especially were in the habit of constructing a sort of war tower at one end of their houses. These towers were of quadratic form and sometimes 20 or 30 meters in height. On the top of it there was a small room about 4 meters in quadrate and with walls about 1 meter in height, made of strong chonta poles, which protected the defender against the lances of the enemies. The whole thing rested upon pillars of the stem of the chonta palm, and the warrior ascended along a stair consisting of wooden logs with incisions which gave him foothold. These war towers were called kumbinta. After the Jibaros began to make use of firearms in their wars these measures of defence proved less fit for the purpose, and consequently were no longer used."

l: Karsten--263-264 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177 (1928-29)

"Whereas the tambunchi [JKM: trap of the Jibaros used against their enemies] has been used by the Jibaros since ancient times, the following defensive measure is of modern origin. Across the path along which the enemy is expected to come a blackened string is stretched at such a height that it is level with a man's chest. At the tree where one end of the string is fastened a charged and cocked rifle is tied, with the barrel fixed in the direction of the string. The end of the string is fixed in such connection with the trigger of the rifle that when the enemy, coming along in the darkness, gives it a push, the shot is discharged and is likely to hit him in the chest. Even if he should [264] escape being hit, the shot would warn the inhabitants of the house that enemies are approaching."

I: Karsten--264-265 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 411, 177 (1928-29)

"The principal weapons of war of the Jibaro Indians are the lance (nánki) and the shield (tandára), the former being used for attack, [265] the latter for defence. Nowadays the Jibaros, besides these weapons, also commonly use firearms (akáru) received from the whites, generally in exchange for a human head (tsántsa). The lance should be made of the hard wood of the chonta palm, if possible the kind of chonta cultivated by the Jibaros (called ui). The head is of prismatic shape and with the shaft forms a single piece. Formerly the Jibaros also used lance-heads made of the leg-bones of the jaguar or the bear, which were fitted into shafts of chonta, or shafts made another kind of wood and painted red with the paint called yukáipi. These lances were moreover frequently adorned with showy parrot feathers. Lances adorned in this way are no longer encountered anywhere, but on the other hand those provided with iron heads and shafts of yukáipi are not seldom seen. A special power is ascribed to the chonta lance owing to the belief that the spiny chonta palm itself is a demoniac tree, the seat of a spirit (wakáni or iguánchi). The chonta lance therefore inspires not only men but also spirits and demons with fear. Hence at the Tsantsa-feast the head-trophy is always kept tied to a chonta lance at those moments when it is not needed for the ceremonies."

1: Karsten--270-271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 753, 627, 177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft (tunchi) and disease (súngura). The illness of a patient is generally attributed to witchcraft when it consists in violent pains in some part of the body, especially when the pain is accompanied by swelling of that part. Thus, for instance, headache, rheumatic pains, and colic are ascribed to witchcraft. On the other hand, to the category 'disease' (sungura) the Jibaros set down especially such illnesses as have originally been brought to them by the whites and which are not particularly accompanied by pains, like dysentery, smallpox, and most other fevers. Now, if somebody has 'brought sickness', i.e., contagion, to the house of another Jibaro so that some member of the family falls ill and dies; that person is also exposed to the revenge of the relatives. They are perhaps ready to admit that he has not caused the evil intentionally, but this circumstance does not free him from responsibility and from the obligation of at least paying a material compensation for the positive loss he has caused to the family which through him has been deprived of a useful member. In a case like this, therefore, compensation may occur instead of blood revenge. In the same way the Indian is apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases also where the evil has not been caused wilfully--for instance, when somebody in a state of drunkenness or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause [271] of another person's death. If, on the other hand, the doer refuses to pay compensation, blood-revenge is likely to be carried out

against him.

Again, in cases where the evil intention is prominent, the moral indignation aroused by the deed is so much the greater, and particularly witchery is regarded as so grave and unpardonable a crime, that it can be atoned for by blood only."

Karsten--296-297 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros of to-day, in cutting the enemy's head and skinning it, avail themselves of knives obtained from the whites, but formerly--in fact, only a few decades ago--native instruments had to be used for this [297] purpose."

1: Karsten--371-372 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros in their pagan state have no notion of a Supreme Being and a Creator of the world. Some Indians on the Upano mention the Christian God under the name of Yusa (a corruption of the Spanish Dios), but they know practically nothing else about the religion of the apachi (their name for the whites), which to their mind has little or nothing to do with the supernatural beings in whom they believe themselves. However, the religion of the Jibaros can by no means be called a pure demonology, nor are their religious practices reduced to mere magic, as has frequently been said to be the case among the primitive tribes east of the Andes. In connection with the agricultural rites and the 'tobacco feast of the women' we have already made acquaintance with religious ideas which may be termed lofty, and with a worship where a magical element can hardly be recognized. We have seen that the Jibaros believe in two higher deities, the Earth-mother Nungüi and her husband Shakaĕma, revered as the mother and father of the whole Jibaro culture; but these deities have little in common with the Supreme Beings which are reported to exist among several other low races in different parts of the world. The great benevolent Earth-[372] mother of the Jibaros and her loyal husband Shakaĕma, although they are neither regarded as creators of the world nor as moral beings in the strict sense, are nevertheless of singular interest, being as they are in any case genuine creations of primitive Indian imagination."

I: Karsten--395 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-I
116, 164, 177, 753 (1920-29)

"On the other hand, in the category 'disease' (súngura) most illnesses are reckoned which are not particularly connected with pains and which the Indians have learnt to know through the whites; first of all fever and infectious diseases such as small-pox, scarlet-fever, dysentery, and venereal disease. Whereas the Indian medicine-men are often able to cure witchcraft sent by other medicine-men, they are completely powerless against 'disease' imported by the whites. Thus when an epidemic of small-pox--a disease that has at times made terrible ravages among the natives of South America--breaks out in an Indian village, the inhabitants generally see no other way to rid themselves of the evil than to burn and abandon the whole village, or at least to leave it for some time. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand the anxiety with which the Indians always, when a strange white man arrives, ask whether he 'brings disease' with him (súngura itáchee?). A traveller who falls seriously ill while staying in an Indian house incurs great danger. If the Indians feel sufficiently strong they may kill him; if not, they will at least go off and leave him alone in the house. The first visit of white men among Indians living in unexplored parts of the country is, for the same reason, particularly critical: the Indians think that the strange new-comers infect their houses and villages by their mere presence. By their personal contact as well as by their clothes, their medicines, and the many other mysterious things that they bring with them they are believed to spread germs of death-bringing diseases.

Just as the evil of witchcraft is caused by a demoniacal being, perhaps a death-bringing iguánchi, so 'disease' (súngura) is also caused by a spirit, namely, the spirit of a white man. The Jibaros, however, can say nothing more particularly about this disease and death spirit, and they know no other way of protecting themselves against his visits than by trying to avoid him."

"The most important of the religious instruments of the Jibaros is the big drum tun-dúi. We have already seen how this drum is used and the interesting religious ideas that are connected with it. The curious association of ideas which has induced the Jibaros to propitiate the 'demon of the mountain' with the instrument which is supposed to be an imitation of his visible representative, the great serpent, pangi, makes us understand that we are dealing with an old and genuinely Indian religious custom. The same can hardly be said about the other and smaller drum, called uchichi tambora by the Jibaros, which no doubt [424] is of European origin. The latter have obtained this drum from their more civilized tribesmen the Canelos Indians, who have developed the making of such drums into a whole industry. The drum is made with great skill and has skin at both ends, the one skin being obtained from a common night monkey, the other from the small capuchin monkey. Only one stick is used. The Canelos Indians use the drum at their drinking-feasts, marriage feasts, etc., two or three Indians constantly wandering about in the middle of the house accompanying with their drums the pairs who appear dancing. The Indians believe that by drumming and dancing they can, among other things, keep off evil spirits, but it is evident that among these half-civilized Indians such ceremonies are more and more losing their religious and magical significance and degenerating into mere amusements. The Jibaros too use the small

drum, accompanying the solo dances with it at their great feasts, the 'music' having the same significance as among the Canelos Indians.

The same may be said of the flutes, at any rate of those known under the name of piuma and pingúi. Both are made of a piece of cane, but the former, the piuma, is larger and has five holes, whereas the smaller has only two. They are used at the great feasts and add to the general din and noise. Their religious significance clearly appears, for instance, from a custom like that mentioned above (p. 226) with reference to the Achuares of the Pastaza. When a newborn child is taken into the house for the first time, the oldest man in the family walks round with the little one accompanied by the other men beating drums and playing on flutes, a ceremony which professedly has for its object to frighten away the evil spirits who are threatening the child. A third flute is by the Jibaros called tungúi and is made of the leg bone of the jaguar. This flute is played, among other things, when the inhabitants of a house, attacked by an enemy, are trying to escape from it into the forest. The flute-playing is accompanied by dancing and is believed to 'tire out the enemy' (p. 290). A flute made of the jaguar's bone is believed to have a special magical power."

1: Karsten--441-442 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 276, 177 (1928-29)

"As to the third narcotic, tobacco, it has frequently been mentioned in connection with the two other magical drinks, the natéma (aya huasca) and the maíkoa (huántuc). The importance which the Jibaros ascribe to tobacco is enormous; from this plant they prepare their most powerful and most indispensable medicine. Some Jibaros of our own days may also use tobacco as a means of enjoyment, but it is certain that they have learnt this from the whites. It is remarkable that the Indians only use the tobacco they have received from the whites in this way, [442] but never their own. The tobacco which the Jibaros themselves cultivate is used by them only for strictly ceremonial purposes. On the other hand, the Indians would never use the tobacco bought from the whites for their religious ceremonies; they distrust it in the same way as they distrust other articles received from their hereditary enemies. The Indian tobacco, badly cultivated as it is, is not particularly strong; but since it is consumed in great quantities, its effects are still powerful enough."

1: Karsten--502 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533, 177, 151 (1928-29)

"The Indians are extremely fond of song and music and it is easy to understand that in this sphere they have borrowed much from the whites. Thus among the Chaco Indians I found tunes which were evidently borrowed. Among the Jibaros, on the other hand, foreign influence has in this respect also been insignificant, owing naturally to the conservative character of the whole Jibaro culture. As far as I can see, all of their melodies noted down by me in this work are genuinely Indian."

"The civilizing of the savage Indians is everywhere in South America a leading question of the day, but it has, I think, a special importance attached to it in regard to a tribe so richly endowed by nature as the Jibaros. In fact, with the exception of the ancient Inca culture, I know no native culture in South America so strongly pronounced and so peculiar in many of its traits as the Jibaro culture. In its present form it is of course, doomed to disappear; it is also necessary that certain ideas and customs, above all their inveterate belief in witchcraft and [584] the custom of head-hunting, should be made to disappear if the Indians are to be raised from that state of barbarism in which they are now. But the question is how the Indians could be made participants of Christian civilization without losing their high mental qualities and their native virtues, and how those traits in their culture which are really valuable could be preserved thereby.

I am far from underrating the devoted civilizing work which the Catholic missionaries, and especially the Jesuits, have done among the South American Indians in former times. As an ethnologist I have reason to emphasize it all the more as these missionaries have at the same time given us some of the most valuable information we possess concerning native Indian cultures that have long ago ceased to exist. If nevertheless it must be stated that the endeavours of the Christian missionaries to convert and civilize the Indians have on the whole proved a failure, this has in part been due to particular unfavourable circumstances over which they have had no control. The

'civilization' with which these innocent children of nature have been brought in contact has not as a rule answered to the lofty ideals of Christianity, and those men who have represented it have unfortunalely [sic] more often been Christians by name than in reality. As long as brandy and venereal diseases are the most essential of the 'culture elements' with which these pioneers of 'Christian civilization' make the Indians acquainted, we cannot wonder that its effects on the latter, as hitherto, rather are shown in their gradual physical and moral degeneration than in real cultural progress. When further we take into consideration that system of slavery or bond-service which has been introduced by the white settlers for instance at the Rio Napo, and to which I have alluded before, we can quite understand the lack of enthusiasm which the natives of South America have as a rule manifested to all civilizatory attempts on the part of the whites, even when they have been made with the best intentions. The Jibaro race especially has resisted them as it were instinctively.

That antipathy against higher culture which has frequently been said to be characteristic of the Indian, in contrast with, for instance, the African negro, must, I believe, to a great extent be explained from this fact. The Indian is by no means averse to culture in itself. On the contrary, my own experience at any rate is that the Indian living in a state of nature is generally eager to acquire knowledge and readily [585] uses the opportunities of learning something about the 'sciences' and language of the whites

when such opportunities are afforded. Thus when I stayed in the house of the savage Jibaros at Rio Chiguaza during the victory-feast, the Indians with unwearying eagerness tried to learn, from me and my mestizo companions, the Spanish numerals and other words, and they also frequently expressed their desire to learn reading and writing. It is a wellknown fact that the Indians generally learn the Spanish language very easily. Both the Indian's thirst for knowledge and his relatively high natural intelligence seem to me to be a guarantee for his capability to receive a higher culture, if only it is communicated to him in the right way.

In this respect, however, the methods of the missionaries have frequently been perverted. They have too much been thinking of their 'spiritual conquests', of the conversion of the heathen to 'the only true religion', overlooking the fact that exactly this is the part of their teaching which to the primitive Indians is most difficult to understand. Without particularly having the activity of the missionaries in view, I should like to point out that to every people, and especially to primitive folk, the rapid transition from one form of culture to an other and entirely different one necessarily involves certain dangers. Through the methods of education hitherto followed the Indians have lost their faith in the old ideals, and frequently at the same time the foundation on which their old religious and ethical view of the world has been based. The result has naturally been that moral nihilism which unfortunately is characteristic of the present-day half-civilized Indian. The educational work among the Indians should not, I think,

begin by more or less futile attempts to impart to them new religious ideas or spiritual truths which they do not understand. By improving the conditions of their material existence, by rational teaching in agriculture and in useful handicrafts, and above all by observing absolute justice in all dealings with them, the white teachers could easily awake in them that interest and confidence which is a conditio sine qua non for success in any educational work. His liberty and independence the Jibaro Indian appreciates more than anything else. This should be guaranteed to him by law, including the protection on the part of the authorities against abuses of any kind, and especially against the brandy of the whites, the chief motor of degeneration in all 'civilized' Indians. Material progress would no doubt be followed by intellectual and moral progress, and thus a gradual change in the Indian view of the world be brought [586] about. Even their greatest curse, their belief in witchcraft, can hardly be overcome by directly combatting it, as the missionaries have hitherto done, but only by general enlightenment.

The Jibaros, in spite of their spirit of freedom, cannot in the long run escape the influence of civilization. By wise politics their degeneration and total extinction--which too, at any rate in part, is the result of the contact with civilization--could at least be delayed, and thus the hour postponed when this interesting form of human culture has entirely disappeared."

2: Stirling--IX (1930-31) 1938 Jivaro
116 H77

"Since the year 1540 the Jivaro Indians have been more or less constantly in contact with European culture. During these four centuries a great deal has been written about them, unfortunately most of it during the present century, and possibly the present contribution will but add to the confusion of what might seem an already redundant literature. The many accounts of travelers, soldiers, settlers, missionaries, and scientists contain a great deal that is of ethnological value, mingled with much that is repetitious, much that is garbled, and much that is speculative. With the exception of Hamy and Rivet, most writers have neglected utilizing the early Spanish accounts which are of considerable value for comparative purposes, although rarely as detailed as we would like."

2: Stirling--3 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177

"When first visited by Juan de Salinas in the middle of the sixteenth century they apparently showed no inclination to include the Spaniards in their war pattern. The attempt to interfere with their liberty and to force strange customs and beliefs upon them soon changed this situation."

2: Stirling--3 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 181

"Typical of the statements of modern writers is that of Rivet, who said at the beginning of the present century:

The Jivaro does not have the submissive, humble, cringing appearance, I might almost say servile, of the civilized Indian; much to the contrary, everything in him reveals the free man, passionately loving liberty, incapable of putting up with the slightest subjection. The eye is quick, the look steady, the physiognomy mobile and expressive, their movements rapid and animate, their speech easy and assured. * * *So one finds him in the forests in the midst of virgin nature whose pure splendor forms a magnificent frame for the indomitable savage. (2)

This same 'virgin nature', friendly to those who have adapted themselves to her embrace, so hostile to those who have not, has enabled these children of the jungle to maintain the spirit of independence against the conquering might of the Inca, the greed of the gold-hungry conquistador, and the passionate zeal of the missionary.

The alliance between nature and the Jivaros has enabled these Indians successfully to repulse for 400 years the most determined efforts of the white man to establish himself in their territory."

"2. Rivet, 1907, p. 361."

2: Stirling--41 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 135, 669

"The gold in the headwater streams of the Santiago brought the Jivaros in contact with the Spaniards at an early date. During the sixteenth century they apparently did not offer much resistance to the intrusions of the Spaniards, although they were continually fighting among themselves in much the same manner as they do at the present day. It took some time for the Spaniards to establish themselves as natural enemies, but after enduring the encomienda for about 30 years the Jivaros finally arose in a united revolt which freed them permanently from foreign rule, in spite of the fact that continuous efforts have been made since that time to exploit their territory."

2: Stirling--79 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 177

"Guns did not come into general use among the Jivaros until the early part of the twentieth century. During this period they captured some guns from the Peruvians, and later the light muzzle-loading escopetas or shotguns were introduced in considerable numbers by the traders. At the present time it is the ambition of every Jivaro to own a gun, although probably less than half of the men possess them. This strong desire to own 'escopetas' can scarcely be based on practical considerations, since they are little more effective for hunting purposes than the blowgun and have the additional disadvantage that the noise made in shooting frightens game. While guns are becoming more common, blowguns still continue to be important adjuncts of every Jivaro household.

It seems clear that during the sixteenth century the Jivaros used lances, spear throwers, and bows and arrows. Sometime during the latter part of the seventeenth century the bow and arrow and the spear thrower began to go out of use, being replaced by the blowgun with poison darts."

2: Stirling--80 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 177

"The remarkable parallel between this weapon [KS: the blowgun] and its accessories as manufactured in Indonesia and in South America has been a frequent subject of comment by ethnographers. Details regarding the nature of many of these parallels and the improbability of their independent development need not be mentioned here. As far as the writer is aware, no one has suggested the post-Columbian introduction of the blowgun into the South American region. The amazing similarity in the methods of manufacture and materials used would seem to make it extremely unlikely that this highly specialized complex could have developed independently in the two areas. It seems to the writer much more probable that the use of the blowgun and its equipment was brought into South America by southeastern Asiatics, possible from the Philippines, who were carried across the Pacific on one or more of the many Spanish galleons which followed this route in the sixteenth century. These individuals, escaping into a familiar jungle environment which supplied all of the necessary materials, could easily have used their knowledge to manufacture this complicated but most useful weapon. (13a)

"13a. The writer has been informed by Dr. Wendell Bennett that there is an early Chimu vessel in the collection of Rafael Larco Hoyle, of Trujillo, with a painting of what appears to be a man using a blowgun. This may represent a pellet gun."

2: Stirling--80-81 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 411

"Judging from the early literature, its [KS: the blowgun] use in South America originated in the general vicinity of the Mainas, from whom it was obtained by the Jivaros, who today are probably the most expert blowgun manufacturers in South America. From this region it spread across the northern Amazon basin to the Guianas, where its intro-
[81] duction appears to have been comparatively late. It seems quite certain that the Jivaros did not have it until the seventeenth century.

In northwestern South America the blowgun is called variously cerbatana, or bodoquera, or by the Quechua term pucuna. By the Jivaros it is called umi.

There are numerous variations in the technique of making blowguns as practiced in different sections of the Jivaro country. The descriptions given by Rivet (14) and that of Up de Graff (15) approximate most closely the process as witnessed by the writer on the Chinganasa River. The writer has on numerous occasions observed Jivaros at work manufacturing blowgun darts and preparing them for use.

"14. Rivet, 1907, p. 594.
15. Up de Graff, p. 210."

3: Simson --385 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 157, 181, 177

"The tribe or family of the Jívaros is a large one, and one of the most distinguished, independent, and warlike in South America. They alike withstood the attacks of the Jucas and the Spaniards, burning the once famed cities of Logroño and Mendoza, and massacring all the male inhabitants who did not succeed in making their escape; and even to this day they maintain the most thorough independence. The missions at Macas and Gualaquiza have as yet produced no practical results, nor obtained any authority over the Indians. A Jesuit padre, who had resided three years at Gualaquiza amongst them, informed me that he had found it impossible to make any progress with them; and more than once his life was personally threatened. During these three years twenty nine whites (i.e., half-caste traders) were killed in the neighbourhood of Gualaquiza."

4: Up de Graff--201 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 177

"There is so very little known about the head-hunters of the Upper Amazon that I think a short digression on their mode of life will not be out of place. They form an interesting study in that they differ in many respects from any other known savage tribes, and are a living example of the Stone Age Man, one of the very few surviving. The inaccessibility of their country, its fine climate, and the abundance of foodstuffs, animal and vegetable, provided by the woods and rivers, all go to preserve them from the taint of civilization which, bringing disease in its track, has exterminated so many wild peoples. Almost the only literate persons who are in a position to make a record of the lives and habits of these tribes--the Jesuit priests who have established missions in the country adjoining their territory, as for example at Macas, Andoas, and Archidona--appear never to have availed themselves of the chance. They live in the gold-bearing country, and are too much occupied with exchanging blessings for the most coveted of worldly commodities."

4: Up de Graff—201-202 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 177, 797

"It is worth noting in passing, that whereas those Indians (of other tribes) who have lived for fifty years under the influence of the priests at the missions I have mentioned, remain to-day in every respect as ignorant and more superstitious than ever, having acquired merely [202] the doubtful benefit of a Christian catechism which they cannot understand (and could not have been expected to), those of their brothers whose domains have been invaded by the caucheros have in the short space of some two years jumped from stone axes to Singer sewing machines, and what is more important, from sheer barbarism to self-respect. The former, as I know from personal experience, shrink from contact with strangers, under the influence of the priests' teaching (as though they feared outside intervention, which might rob them of some of their influence). The latter are deliberately taught the advantages of steel axes and machetes over stone not, be it said, by reason of the philanthropic instinct of the cauchero, but nevertheless with gain to both sides. It remains to be seen whether together with the worldly goods and broader knowledge which they have acquired, there has been left among them the scourge of disease. But at any rate their intellectual progress, and, as far as I could make out, their moral outlook have made far more rapid strides than in the case of their brothers who have fallen under the influence of 'religion.' "

4: Up de Graff --218 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 412, 437, 177

"We had with us many cases of machetes and steel axes, which we bartered from time to time. It may be, then, that the next time I visit them, to get them to work the 'placer' deposits of gold which lie hidden somewhere in their territory I shall find that a great change has been wrought in their lives by the advent of these tools. For of all the blessings of civilization which these people needed, the axe and the machete to combat the prolific growth of weeds and bush in their clearings, and to make for themselves the multitudinous necessities of life--for almost every thing they use is cut from numi (wood--Jívaro) --stand out first and foremost."

5: Reyes and Teran--107 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 135, 487, 177

"The scarcity and rudimentary state of communication routes has obliged people living in the Ecuadorian Oriente to seek their economic well-being largely through mining rather than through agriculture, in spite of the fertility of these lands. And among the minerals, it is the exploitation of gold which today mainly concerns those [GCB: white men] who venture into these regions. Gold also is the concern of a large number of natives whose labor is exploited by the whites."

5: Reyes and Teran--108-109 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 161, 177

"Unemployment in the centers of population has brought into the forest a large number of placer miners, many of whom, after a brief period of struggle with the wilderness, have returned with respectable fortunes. These men are the remarkable gold miners who impart an atmosphere of activity and progress to many settlements of the Oriente, even though they frequently bespatter them with blood. The following data may give some idea of the intensity with which this work is being carried on:[109]

Number of men washing gold in the Napo and its tributaries.....	3,500
Number of men washing gold in the Pastaza and its tributaries.....	1,000
Number of men washing gold in the Upano and its tributaries.....	300
Number of men washing gold in the Paute and its tributaries.....	2,500
Number of men washing gold in the Zamora and its tributaries.....	5,200
Number of men washing gold in the San Francisco and other tributaries of the Chinchipe.....	2,000
Number of men washing gold in the placers of the Nabon, Chordeleg, Zaruma, Gualaquiza and the cordillera del Condor.....	3,500
Total.....	18,000 "

12: Rivet--338 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 157, 177

A characteristic common to all these tribes is their love of independence; the result being that these Indians, armed with simple lances of wood, located at the very gates of the civilized and Christian world, have kept all their purity of race and all their originality until the beginning of the twentieth century. Protected by impenetrable forests, where tropical nature seems to take pleasure in accumulating obstacles against the entrance of the invader, these passionate lovers of liberty have resisted with equal success the numerous assaults made on them by the Spaniards and missionaries, all the attempts of conquests and all the attempts at conversion, as we shall now see in studying their past.

12: Rivet--345 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 177

With the 18th century and the expulsion of the Jesuits came the end of the attempts at religious conquest of the Jíbaros. With equal good luck, indomitable Indians had resisted the monks as they had resisted the Spanish soldiers in the course of the 16th century.

13: Rivet--72-73 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 177, 727

It seems, however, that before the conquest and in the years that followed, other Indians also made these objects. In fact, here is what Zarate says of the natives who inhabit the region between the Cordillera and the Pacific on the present territory of the republic of Ecuador: "In some temples, especially in the towns that they call de Pasao, on all the pillars of these there were men and children crucified, the bodies or the skins so [73] well cured that they did not smell badly, and there were nailed up many heads of Indians that had been shrunk with a certain decoction until they were the size of a fist" (1).

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1. Augustin de Zarate. Historia del Descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Péru, Séville, 1577. Liv. 1, chap. 4, page 3. I can only find on the actual map of Ecuador, Cape Pasado, of which the name recalls the locality mentioned by Zarate. This cape is on the coast of the province of Manabi, a little north of Bahia de Caráques.

13: Rivet--235
116, 773, 177

(no date) 1908

Jívaro

Missionaries have a curious tendency either to deny that the Jívaro have a religious life or to limit it to some incidental practices. In reality, among these Indians, as among many other primitive people, there are many acts connected with superstitious beliefs, and it is probably that a careful study would considerably augment the number.

The same comment is applicable to the traditions, our knowledge of which is very small and very incomplete. Unfortunately, the Christian myths introduced in the 18th century by the Jesuits have deeply altered the original myths and it is often impossible to discriminate between what is actually Jívaro and what has a Catholic origin.

The moral picture which I have just quickly outlined, after having studied the customs of the race in detail, shows what a thankless task the missionaries have undertaken and explains to a certain extent the failure of their attempts up to this time. He who understands only Christian doctrines runs head-on into the most deeply-rooted customs of the people. To advise the Jíbaro to forgive injuries, when all his life is dominated by the desire for vengeance, to point out to him the goodness of the Catholic God, when the only thing he respects is strength, to explain to him the idea of being good to one's neighbor, when he only thinks of lucrative pillage from his neighbor, to limit him to a single wife and to make her his equal when for years he has practiced authoritarian polygamy, to oblige this lover of liberty to accept the many subjections of communal life, the constraint of certain rules, to try to make his mind, accustomed only to concrete realities, understand the abstraction of the Christian mysteries and dogmas, that is to ask too much of the savage, too many sacrifices, that is to upset his entire life without giving him sufficient compensation, in a word, it is to undertake a hopeless work, destined to certain failure.

And in fact, the missionaries succeed in nothing or almost nothing. In order to make their neophytes understand them, they are obliged to use their own language, and they have tried to adapt to the Christian conception the words which are used to designate the native divinities. They have made the iguanchi the devil, and tungura hell; but these

words have taken on a new meaning only in the minds of the priests; for the baptized Jíbaro, they have kept their primitive significance. The teachers of the catechism and those being taught do not understand each other, and seem to understand only thanks to ambiguity. So it is that a missionary may rejoice over having heard an old Indian say on seeing a child baptized: "It is a good thing to wash the head in this manner, because it frightens the iguanchi" (1). In reality, Christian baptism is to the savage only an operation of beneficent magic which has been added to the things they already practiced, the priest is only a huishinu who has brought into the Amazonian forest the secret of new formulae for conciliating the divinities and spirits.

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1. Bulletin salesien, February 1898, page 50.

The unhappy missionary is not the dupe of his neophytes in this point of view alone. The Jíbaro is intelligent; he has become aware very quickly of all the advantages that an apparent conversion can bring to him; he has understood that by undergoing certain inoffensive acts and perhaps useful ones, he easily obtains from the priests many objects which the white merchants sell to him very expensively; and in order to receive presents, he does not hesitate to come to claim baptism many times; this custom has reached such a point that now the missionaries only administer this sacrament on condition. The stock of gifts depleted, the savages make it clear to the priest that there is nothing for him to do but leave, and if he stays, it is they who leave (1). "For the Jíbaro, religion is a game, he makes himself a Christian if you give him three meters of worthless cloth and, in a frenzy of enthusiasm, asks for baptism ten and twenty times, although he has already been baptized as many times, then with the greatest impiety, denying the religion which he so enthusiastically embraced, he soon kills his enemy whom he meets, kills his own wife in a moment of anger and asks three or four Indian girls in marriage (2)." I find the same opinion and the same complaint coming just

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 40.
2. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 38.

recently from the pen of Salesien (3).

Here, where the more experienced and ardent missionaries of the 18th century have failed, the friars of our time have little chance for success.

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3. Bulletin salesien, August 1907, page 102.

13: Rivet--257-258 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 177

Does this mean the savages of the upper Amazon will never recognize the benefits of civilization? I fear so. Except for the priests, the Whites who live in these remote regions have other concerns than desiring to lead the savage to a higher conception of social life. One may say that the Jîbaros have only received from civilization two sad presents by this agency, smallpox and epidemic maladies which are sufficient reasons for their refusal to group together in villages, and alcohol which weakens and kills a naturally vigorous and beautiful race.

The future of the Indians, which I have just been discussing, is only too clearly apparent. Like their brothers of North America, they are doomed to disappearance, the rapidity of which will depend on the [258] rapidity with which the upper Amazonian provinces are populated. They will be annihilated as the Whites take possession of their vast forests where nature still guards so many unexploited riches, which will soon attract foreigners weary of the struggle in their own countries, on impoverished and miserly soil.

"The tribe have no outwardly manifested religious beliefs, other than such as may be involved in the cult of the medicine man. Occasionally individuals would be met who had been baptized, as adults, at Gualaquiza, but they were not professing proselytes. The missions founded in various Amazon regions, from the sixteenth century down to the present day, have made little or no real impression upon the Jíbaro, where he has been reached at all by them; (38) but this is scarcely a matter for wonder, in view of the interruptions which they have constantly suffered through the stormy vicissitudes of South American history. 'The first blow to the missions,' says Mozans, (39) 'came when the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonies in 1767 by Charles III for reasons ocultas y reservadas. The second was delivered a few decades later by the leaders of the War of Independence, when members of other religious orders were driven from the scenes of their missionary labors. Since then, owing to the constantly perturbed condition of a greater part of the continent and the crippled financial condition of

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"38. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 87.
39. H. J. Mozans, work cited in footnote 6, p. 451."

most of the republics, little has been done for the Indians in the vast territories watered by the Amazon, the Orinoco, and their tributaries; and, as a consequence, many tribes that had, under the missionaries, made such notable advances in civilized life, have lapsed into barbarism and returned to their former wild life in the recesses of the forest. Thus, some twenty years ago the Franciscans established a mission, with schools and a medical dispensary, at Zamora, but after a brief existence its withdrawal was forced under the anti-clerical President Alfaro, during whose régime also the Jesuits were deprived of all authority in Oriente."

20: Dyott--164
116, 825, 262, 177

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"The deer is regarded by the Jivaros as the incarnation of a particularly evil demon, and therefore its meat is not eaten or even touched; but in the case of Kuashu and other families who come in contact with traders, the superstitious dread in which the animal has been held in the past has given way to more rational ideas. No time was lost, therefore, in slinging the carcass on to a pole and carrying it back to the house in triumph."

22: Hamy--385 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 177

"The vast territories which stretch along the banks of the Maranon, from the confines of Peru and from the republic of Ecuador, hide in the depths of their almost impenetrable forests, a certain number of Indian tribes, which have remained almost unknown up to recent times. The governors of Cuenca and magistrates of Chachapoyas, in whose jurisdiction the greater part of these Indians are believed to be located, exercise in reality, only nominal authority, and the missionaries, in spite of long and persistent efforts, have not succeeded until recently to found durable establishments among these savages."

24: Wright--238-240 (1938) 1942 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 177, 262

"Group No. 2 [KS: in comparative study of teeth] consisted of 80 males from pre-adolescent to middle adulthood, of which 34 were adults, and 46 pre-adolescent. This group lived in the mixed white and Indian settlement of Méndez, approximately three days journey from the region of Group No. 1. This latter group is of the same racial stock and family as those of Group No. 1, and originally lived in the same jungle environment, but are now under the protection of the missionaries and were living in and about the mission settlement. Their customs and food habits had been altered to meet the requirements of a quasi-civilized community. The usual diet of these individuals consisted of bananas as the only raw food, cooked meats, potatoes, rice and beans, bread, canned salmon, biscuits, coffee and carbonated beverages. Occasionally, cheap candy, cakes and sugar cane were available, the latter in ample quantities. Almost every individual suffered from [240] gastric disturbances. Because of local obstacles which could not be overcome, the making of plaster casts of their teeth and routine accurate dental examinations were virtually impossible, and cursory examinations for comparative study had to suffice. With the exception of three adult individuals, no one was free from dental caries. Approximately 25% had all their teeth affected with dental caries, and 35% from one to several teeth were missing. Of 34 adults, 16 had good occlusions, while 18 had fair occlusions, but with misplaced and rotated maxillary central incisors. Of the pre-adolescent

members of this group, 14 had good occlusions, and 32 were affected with malocclusions of varying degree; all of the latter had misplaced and rotated maxillary central incisors. Of a total of 80 individuals in Group 2, 50 or 82.5% were affected with maxillary central incisor misplacements. (Table 1.)"

TABLE 1--COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE DENTAL OCCLUSION OF GROUPS 1 AND 2.

	Group 1. 67 Males		Group 2. 80 Males	
Class.	Adults 56	Pre-adolescent 11	Adults 34	Pre-adolescent 46
Good Occlusion	18	3	16	14
Rotated Max. 1st incisors. Bal. occl. fair-good.	47	5	18	32
Rotated Max. 1st incisors gen. mal-occlusion		3		

[Put above slip number 2, matching column rules.]

24: Wright--239
116, 164, 177, 262

(1938) 1942

Jivaro-2

4th mand. molars.	2				[Match columns with slip No. 1]
Rotated Max. 1st incisors.	Total 55 or 82%	of Group 1.		Total 50 or 82.5%	of Group 2.

TABLE 2--COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TOOTH CAVITIES OF GROUPS 1 AND 2 (1).

Class.	Adults 56	Pre-adolescent 11	Adults 34	Pre-adolescent 46
Free from caries	32	9	3	
1 cavity	15	1		
2 cavities	1			
3 "	4		31	46
4 "	1			
5 "	3	1		

(comparative records)
25% of all had cavities in almost all teeth.
35% had missing teeth.

"1. [See following sheet for footnote]"

24: Wright--239
116, 164, 177, 262

(1938) 1942

Jivaro-3

"1. [Footnote 1, p. 239] It was impossible to tabulate Group 2 in detail except to show results of a cursory examination for a comparative study."

24: Wright--240 (1938) 1942 Jivaro
116, 164, 177, 262

"In comparing the dental conditions of the two groups [KS: in comparative study of teeth] the factor of misplacements of the maxillary central incisors is a persistent variable which is constant for both groups. With 82% in Group 1, and 82.5% in Group 2, there is a variance of only .5% for affected teeth, a curious coincidence. There is another factor to be noted, namely that of the wide variance of dental caries between the two groups. The change in food habits is undoubtedly responsible for the increase in dental caries in Group 2, but this change in environment does not alter the inherited tendency to variation in occlusion common to both groups."

25: Vigna --46 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 177, 609, 153

The relations of the Jîbaros with white people are characterized by friendship and opportunism. They admire the white civilization and imitate whatever appears suitable to them. It is a pity that they generally admire the vices and not the virtues. Through his contact with white civilization the Jîbaro has learned to lie, to intoxicate himself with liquor and to steal.

The work of the Catholic and Christian Missionaries among them proceeds slowly, and the Catholic Missionaries have chosen by preference to dedicate themselves to the education and evangelization of the new generations.

There are, as pointed out before, only a few white men among the Indians. These white men collect rubber. Most of them live in Chachapoyas and its vicinity. They refer to the Indians as Infieles, while they regard themselves, in contrast to the natives, as Cristianos. The Indians use the term Cristianos when they refer to persons or languages that do not belong to their race. They call themselves and their own language Aguaruna. In conversation among themselves they use, what the white men call, Quichua. But it is a Quichua which contains just as many Spanish and Aguaruna words as it contains Quichua words. And the white men frequently have to learn this dialect from the Indians. A true Quichua Indian, whom we had taken along on our expedition, insisted that he could not understand a word of this language. An old man in Ja'n told me after my return that formerly, when he had visited them in his youth, the Indians had understood Quichua. Would it not be better if the white men would learn the pure Aguaruna language or would teach Spanish to the Indians? I have seen it in Huavico, where an old man from Huancabamba was living, that both things are not impossible. This old man used only the Spanish language. Consequently, all Indians in the vicinity knew Spanish fairly well, and two Indians, who lived with him in his house, knew it even quite well. During my short stay there I had the opportunity to make a short glossary of the Aguaruna language. The young nephew of the old man spoke Aguaruna well, and otherwise, too, in his mode of life, he had become half Indianized. Time and again I had to laugh upon seeing the strange

surprize of the Indians when this young white man addressed them in their own language; they circled him with awe, examining him from all sides.

26: Brüning--50 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 153, 177

The Indians are very intelligent and mentally alert. They showed great interest in the unfamiliar. Due to language difficulties we were unable to converse with them, and yet, they sensed instinctively what we wanted, and they seemed to be able to read our thoughts and to guess our wishes. I was struck by the thirst of knowledge on the part of some boys, 8-12 years of age, and after I had satisfied their eagerness for learning, they tried to enlighten me concerning the facts that were of their immediate concern. It is a pity that these poor people are not subjected to a better civilizing influence than that which rubber dealers are able to give, for one can hardly say that the rubber collectors are especially suited for this task. It is highly doubtful whether the missionaries act as a civilizing force. For an Indian who has been baptized may have been received in the pale of the church, but he is still a long way from civilization. On the contrary, upon becoming a Christian he hastens to do away with his good character features and to adopt the vices of civilization. During our return trip a number of older boys were baptized by an Augustine monk who accompanied us. But I had the impression that their fathers were chiefly prompted to this step by the gifts (such as large colored handkerchieves and glass pearls) which the monks offered.

26: Brüning-- 50 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 152, 177

The whites regard the Indians as treacherous and revengeful...But I have heard of instances where rubber collectors made use of the Indians to eliminate burdensome competitors in the rubber business. Persons who are not familiar with all the facts will, of course, raise their voices against the Indian treachery. However, I am inclined to believe that the Indians are fond of this type of business, since there is innate in them something of a bloodthirsty tiger, and their animal instincts can be easily provoked. The whites, too, are guilty in this respect since they did equip the Indians with modern shooting arms. I have not been in a single native house where I did not find at least a few Winchester repeating rifles (latest model type!). These modern weapons in the hand of the Indians constitute a two-edged sword, as we learned in the year 1904.

26: Brüning--58 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 177, 286, 462

The material used for clothing is nowadays in many instances of European make, at least in the case of women's dresses. They obtain this material, which is nothing but ordinary unbleached muslin. (tocuyo), through barter. They themselves dye it brown. I noticed that the itipe of the men was in all instances home made material. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the men do the spinning and weaving.

26: Brüning-- 71-72 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411, 177, 436

In all the tambos I found Winchester rifles which they had obtained from the rubber collectors by barter for rubber. But since the Indians most of the time do not have any [72] shot to go with it, these rifles are for the most part ornamental pieces. As a matter of fact, the Indians are not too fond of rifles since, they maintain, their report chases the game off.

In their tambos they have special stands where all the weapons are vertically placed and with great orderliness. Especially the blowguns have to be kept in a vertical position, otherwise they would bend.

26: Brüning--72 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 177, 726

In recent times, the number of correrías has decreased; nevertheless, I was told in the Muchingis River territory that the Indians were making preparations to attack their arch-enemies, the Huambisas. The oracle, however, had not yet been auspicious. In order to find out whether the correría would be successful, they drink the narcotic decoction of a certain liana which transports them into a state of dreaming in which they have hallucinations by which they judge as to the lucky or unlucky outcome of the intended raid. This liana is called náktém in the Aguaruna language and ayahuásca (a Quichua word meaning "rope of death") by the whites.

28: Tessman--344 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 177, 291

"One may also see a poncho, that is to say, a square piece of cloth with a hole in the middle in order to pull it over the head. This piece of clothing is to be found (according to Karsten in his Blood Revenge, p. 25) among the Chiwaro-Makas Indians, where it is called awangeama. It is certain that this poncho has been imported from the Ketschua Indians."

28: Tessman--350 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 501, 177

Canoe (See Glossary) and paddle: kaneitio, according to Karsten from the Spanish canalete (i. e., Indian paddle). Judging from the Spanish name, they must have been imported.

28: Tessman--352 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 177

Tobacco (sángo) is taken in the form of juice: they let the leaves soak in water, and then drink the water or sip it through the nose. According to Karsten they have special earthenware glasses for this purpose.

In his Beiträge etc., pp. 56 ff. Karsten deals at great length with the tobacco and the ideas and customs connected with it. The original magic significance of tobacco is still apparent. As a pure stimulant tobacco is a new acquisition of the Chiwaros, which is proved by the fact that for this purpose the Indians use imported tobacco only. The men take the tobacco juice through the mouth or through the nose, the women through the mouth only. The Indians also smoke large cigars, which are placed in a bamboo holder. At a certain festival, when the boys reach the stage of manhood, smoke is blown into the mouths of the novices. This is, according to Karsten, the significance of the tobacco for the Chiwaros: 1) it is a panacea for all diseases, and 2) it is a means to increase the magic power; thirdly, it is an actual narcoticum which produces dreams.

There does not seem to be any coca, and Karsten does not talk about it either.

28: Tessman--363-364 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 153, 177

The character of the Chiwaros differs somewhat from that of the average Indian, but it is by no means better. Certain good character traits may be present, such as a good perceptive faculty or a greater vivacity and industriousness. But these good character traits are overshadowed by the [364] overwhelming bloodthirstyness, trickery, and deceitfulness of these Indians. By means of a prolonged severe education it might be possible to raise the level of these Indians, perhaps to a level above the other Indians, but I doubt that this will happen, since this education cannot become effective until all Chiwaros, through causes of a different nature, have become the victims of steadily advancing civilization. At the moment, however, one cannot even think that this bloodthirsty group will ever be tamed, since neither the Peruvian nor the Ecuadorian governments show the slightest inclination to carry out energetic measures against the Chiwaros. A strict military supervision over a period of several decades would be the basis for it; to this should be added a friendly, just, and absolutely social regulation of the barter commerce, so that all exploitation will be ruled out. But this is asking for too much in South America! The whole situation is aggrevated by the fact that the borderline between Ecuador and Peru has not yet been established, and the Indians are therefore between two hostile camps. Rivet mentions the Indian treacherousness, and he says that the missionaries have been unsuccessful. The Chiwaros let themselves be baptized several times in order to gain material advantages.

Karsten (Blood Revenge etc., p. 8) calls the Chiwaros impulsive and choleric.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[7]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[8] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwanch* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*nukuri*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pupi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or *iwanch* kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanch* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

1916–1918 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Karsten's, in 1930–31. The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional Jívaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradictions between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Karsten and Stirling visited other Jívaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and Aguaruna) in addition to the Jívaro proper. In order to assess this possibility, I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[12] As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "tsarutama," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jívaroan tribes, "arutam" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "*ahutan*" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's rain or anaconda "gods" or in Karsten's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jívaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jívaro proper.

NOTES

[1] This tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from the 3,500 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui in the east. The *untsuri huara* comprise the Jívaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jívaro proper," "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Ecuadorian Jívaro," or "*Shuara*." This last term, *huara*, does not mean "Jívaro," as often has been stated, but is used by the Jívaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "*Untsuri huara*," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close eastern Jívaroan neighbor, the Achuara tribe (*ahuara huara*). Most of the serious anthropological information published on Jívaroan culture so far has been on the *untsuri huara* or Jívaro proper. The other Jívaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achual), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

The following Jívaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for oversimplifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish *a*
- e English *i* in *sit*
- i Spanish *i* (nasalized when adjacent to n)
- u Spanish *u*

Consonants

- č Spanish *ch*
- h English *h* (palatized; labialized when preceded by u)
- k English *k* (palatized when following e or i plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
- n Spanish *n* (palatized when following e or i plus a nasal consonant; voiced like Spanish *s* when i is adjacent)

/326 cont./

175 Only rarely have the Jfvaros been visited by scholarly
177 travelers, so our knowledge of this tribe is based chiefly on Spanish reports. The most competent expert is probably Spruce, who lived for a long time in their region and penetrated farther
114 than most other travelers. In the case of a people so little known, I may dare to hope that the observations of a traveler whose studies were somewhat remote from ethnology will be of some interest despite their inadequacy and will secure me the indulgence of the honored assembly for the following remarks.

/327/

The bulk of the population of the republic of Ecuador lives in the high mountains of the Cordillera in the part of the range designated in Spanish America as tierra fria. Bleak and bare, the inhabited part of the highlands, in which most of the towns are located at a height between about 2,200 and 3,000 meters, is easily accessible for civilization. Rough, high mountain chains surround this not very productive land, whereas dense, immeasurable forests cover the eastern and western slopes of the Cordillera. To the west there is contact with the coast and the provinces found there, but a visit to the few settlements located on the eastern slope of the principal mountain chain has always been considered a difficult and daring undertaking. The dreaded East Cordillera must be crossed on the worst routes, and then there is a long march full of hardships through the forest, during which large rivers have to be crossed, the flooding of which often exposes the travelers to death from hunger. Macas is probably the easiest of all these places to reach, since a quite considerable part of the way is passable by mule.

133 Riobamba, the capital of the Provincia del Chimborazo, is the point of departure for the journey. One follows upstream the Rio Chambo, coming from the south, which in its upper parts is called Rio de Cebadas and Rio Colay. The river, originating near the ridge of the East Cordillera, joins at the foot of the Tunguragua the Rio de Patate coming from the north, from Cotopaxi, and then, turning eastward, breaks through the Cordillera and flows

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in con- [231] nection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 41 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

/336 cont./ Masses

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[731] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Macas and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is sometimes maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottomless masses of ashes which prevent climbing; on the contrary, the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea level.

197 The language of the Jivaros is essentially different from Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make themselves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
302 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher number concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained interpreters.

• 177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
648 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American parties, in all attempts of this type it was always only a matter of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jivaros understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their
territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force. If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy themselves. After what I have seen among the Jivaros, it does not seem at all so difficult to me to fit this people into our cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and endowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

175 648 highland Ecuadorian groups, such as the Cañari, adjacent to the Jívaro region. Shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards on the Ecuadorian coast in 1527, the Inca emperor, Huayna Capac, led an army to conquer the Jivaroans (probably Jívaro or Aguaruna) inhabiting the region known as "Bracamoros." The invasion, which probably took place in the drainages of the upper Zamora and Chinchipe rivers, was met by such fierce resistance that Huayna Capac had to flee ignominiously back to the Andean highlands, attempting to placate his pursuers with gifts as he retreated. According to one account, he claimed that he would avenge himself on them. According to another version, he explained away his failure by declaring that the inhabitants of Bracamoros were unworthy of being his subjects.[9]

The first reported white penetration of Jívaro territory was made in 1549 by a Spanish expedition commanded by Hernando de Benavente. Probably descending the eastern slopes of the Andes from the headwaters of the Río Upano, Benavente and his men appear to have followed this river southward to its junction with the Río Paute. There they encountered a people living in the "land and province of Xivaro," dwelling in houses scattered more than a league apart. Benavente had planned to establish a town there, but found the Jívaro too hostile and their environment too disagreeable to establish a settlement. He shortly beat a retreat back to the Ecuadorian highlands.[10]

[177] [439] [195] The Viceroy of Peru soon sent a new expedition of colonists, as well as soldiers, *into the Jívaro territory*. These newcomers engaged in trade with the Indians,[11] made peace pacts with them, and began to exploit the rich placer gold deposits of the Paute, Zamora and Upano rivers and their tributaries. Experiencing great success in their gold mining activities, the Spaniards founded two major communities, de-

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The Jívaro have an oral tradition regarding the circumstances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:

In the old days, all the Jívaro [*untsuri šuarā*] lived near the Río Pastaza. Then two Jívaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangoza, they encountered two Macabeos, who wore kilts like the *šuarā*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jivaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have pigs?" The Jívaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of the Jívaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs to Macas. The two *šuarā* returned downstream and told their people:

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos returned the visit of the *šuarä*.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[26] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[26]

Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jívaro reside in such mission-administered lands, since Ecuadorian settlers have taken over almost all of the remainder of the desirable land in the Upano Valley. New white settlements which have sprung up in the Río Upano frontier region include Sucúa (by the Río Tutanangoza), Huambi, Huambinimi, and Logroño (the latter three between Sucúa and Méndez) (see Map 2). By 1950, the reported white population in the Río Upano frontier region had reached 1,811 persons, as against 2,356 Jívaro in the same valley.[34]

By 1956, the Jívaro west of the Cordillera de Cutucú were largely in direct, continuous contact with the Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian population. In this frontier zone, white soldiers and police had imposed the national laws on the Jívaro. White settlers had seized almost all of the land except that protected by the missionaries, and employed the Jívaro in wage labor. Missionaries, with the backing of law enforcement agencies, were putting the Jívaro children in boarding schools and enculturating them to the new, alien way of life. This direct, unremitted contact was tending to acculturate the frontier Jívaro to the national Ecuadorian way of life and the direction of the trend was towards eventual assimilation.

The Interior Jívaro

In contrast, the Jívaro beyond the frontier of colonization still were not yet in continuous first-hand contact with the white population at the time of the investigator's original fieldwork in 1956–57, and these are the people whose culture will be described here. Their territory, mainly east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, had been rarely, if ever, penetrated by any Spanish expedition or later group of Ecuadorian colonizers. This mountain barrier, which is traversed by an ardu-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ous journey of two or more days on foot, still discourages white penetration into the eastern interior.

Cases of contact between the interior Jívaro and whites are all very recent and highly localized in their occurrence. The largest intrusion was made by the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Corporation in the early 1940's as part of an ill-fated oil exploration project. The company constructed a small airstrip near the Río Pangui in the easternmost part of the Jívaro territory, but within a few years abandoned the site altogether when explorations failed to reveal economically exploitable oil deposits in the region. The project involved relatively limited interaction with the Jívaro.

In 1945, a North American evangelist missionary belonging to the Gospel Missionary Union established a small outpost on the middle Río Macuma. The mission has a small airstrip supplied by single-engine plane since 1946. A subsidiary airstrip was built on the upper Río Cangaimi at the end of 1954.[10] At the time of the investigator's first fieldwork, the Macuma mission was beginning to exert some significant influence on the Jívaro families residing at the mission, but such contacts were still limited to the immediate locality, without any noticeable effect on the culture of the other Jívaro inhabiting the vast interior region east of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The Salesians had also founded a mission on the lower Río Yaupi, with similar localized effects.

Localities within the interior Jívaro territory which had been least touched by white contact in 1956–57 are the ones from which the data are primarily drawn for the present study. These areas include: the upper Río Cangaimi, the upper Río Cumaimi, the upper Río Mangosiza, and the region between the Río Chiguaza and the headwaters of the Río Yuquipa and the Río Macuma (see Map 1). The last region is west of the northern end of the Cutucú mountain barrier

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 2,205 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jívaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57.

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chigüasa region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jívaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jívaro which forced the Achuara (*achuará huará*) to retreat northeastward from the Chigüasa and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*tsuma huará*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jívaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their *tsuma* raids against these adjacent tribes.[10]

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jívaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *tsuma huará* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades at least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their tribesmen already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

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barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has contributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighborhood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manufactured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

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tools and firearms. These complementary inequalities in supply and demand between the frontier and interior Jívaro formed the basis for the trade that supplied the latter with European-type technological items. Such technological items constituted almost the sole aspects of Western civilization that had been adopted by the interior Jívaro in 1956–57.

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tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the western or frontier Jivaro to obtain steel machetes, axe-heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jivaro life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it is available.

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa macir* ("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass, and the *hayeas macir* (Collins machete), of North American manufacture and preferred by the Jivaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa macir* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jivaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jivaro trading partners. Such axes are still far less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze blades, which were apparently introduced about the same time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jivaro of the Rio Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use

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415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
293 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[270] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mush when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[462] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[251] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[226] personal effects. Matting is unknown.
[294]

Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
411 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
439 chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the
[197] guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
224 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
411 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
438 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for
[224] hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

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462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:
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> For me it is very easy
> To spin yarn,
> For I am a man-spider.
> I am a man-spider.
> Therefore I am adept.
>
> My hand is like the hand
> Of a spider.
> Because of this
> I make the spindle hum.

286 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283 dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
• [177 rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipi*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses
(*tsesti*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

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home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

291 292 574

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

291 287

Nunui

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nunui. Whether Nunui is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[3] On the one hand, the Jivaro usually speak of Nunui in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nunui will be referred to here in the singular.

776 241 824

Nunui, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nunui to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nunui's two main demands from the Jivaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

[792]

It is believed that Nunui, who is about three feet high [787] very fat, and dressed in a black *tawãi*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

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7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup is the author's (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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icantly different from the essentially egalitarian one between ordinary *awajri*.

The essence of the shaman's power, the *tsentsak*, or magical darts, have an almost infinite variety of forms, and are viewed as invisible spirit helpers which normally reside in the shaman's body. To bewitch, the shaman sends one of these invisible darts into the body of his victim. To cure, he calls upon these spirit aides to suck the intruding magical dart out of the patient's body.

The power of the magical darts is believed to vary according to their type and according to the power of the shaman supplying them. The most powerful, and therefore most valued, supernatural darts are considered to be those belonging to the shamans of the Quichua (Quechua)-speaking Canelos tribe, which extends northward from the Jívaro to the headwaters of the Río Napo. The Canelos tribe has long been in contact with missionaries, and Canelos shamans are distinguished by the Jívaro with a separate term, *paṇü*, derived from *banco*, the Spanish word for the "bank" part of a placer-mining apparatus, which retains the gold-bearing gravels. Canelos shamans call themselves "banks" because they are believed to be similar rich repositories, but of magical power instead of mineral wealth.

The Canelos *paṇü* are said to possess "white man's" *tsentsak*, which the Jívaro and Achuara shamans consider superior to their own traditional *šuar*, or Indian, *tsentsak*. By means of "white man's" magical darts, the Canelos shamans are able to perform feats not possible for Jívaro and Achuara shamans. For example, they are the only shamans in the region who are able to become possessed with the souls of the dead and to act as oral mediums. They also, it is believed, can send demons to possess victims and thereby manipulate their behavior. Furthermore, these Canelos sha-

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mans are so powerful that it is assumed that they cannot be killed by ordinary means.

The Jívaro and Achuara believe so strongly in the superiority of the Canelos *payé* that men wishing to become successful shamans would prefer to obtain their own supernatural darts directly from them. A man cannot expect to become a successful shaman, either in bewitching or curing, unless he has magical darts which exceed in power those of the shamans against whom he is working. Beyond this, he believes that his very survival will depend upon the ability of his own magical darts or spirit helpers to resist the attacks of their counterparts belonging to enemy shamans.

The intensity of feuding within the Jívaro and Achuara tribes makes long-distance travel to obtain *tsentsak* too dangerous to be undertaken by most men. Generally, only the most northern of the Jívaro and Achuara shamans succeed in visiting the Canelos *payé* in order to obtain power. For this reason, the northern Jívaro and Achuara shamans are considered to be more powerful than those to the south.

Since shamanistic power declines in its strength as it is passed southward from shaman to shaman, a southern member of these two tribes who wishes to acquire superior shamanistic power simply does the best he can—which is to travel as far north as safety permits to obtain his magical darts. This is rarely more than forty to fifty miles. If the pilgrim is relatively fortunate, he may be able to get his power from a shaman who has obtained his darts directly from a Canelos bank. But if he lives farther south, he may find he can only obtain the darts from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a *payé*! Thus, among the Jívaro and the Achuara, there is a regular traffic of shamans making pilgrimages at least slightly northward from their neighborhoods to secure strong supernatural power.

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756 776 Upon returning home, a shaman soon barters part of his power, in turn, to men coming to visit him from the south, or he may also dispense it to men of his own neighborhood who are unwilling to undertake even the short trip northward. In any event, the shaman may directly supply power to no more than four men. After that, his power is believed to be so drained off that he must obtain a new supply of magical darts.

756 554 The relationship between the shaman supplying the magical power and the person receiving it is not a relationship between equals. The power-giver is referred to in these tribes as the "higher" shaman, and the recipient as the "lower." The "higher" and "lower" designations refer to actual authority and control exercised by the giver of power over the recipient. The higher shaman, it is believed, can magically take back the power which he has conferred, regardless of the distance separating the two shamans (see pp. 165-66). He may take back this power because of a personal offense, or because he has been bribed to do so by an enemy of the lower shaman. Such occurrences are frequently reported, and there are a number of former shamans who testify that they lost their power in this manner.

[753] A sudden loss of shamanistic power is believed to result in serious illness and often in death. The lower shaman, therefore, tends to fear his higher associate and attempts to [431] keep on good terms with him. With this purpose in mind, he sends tribute in the form of substantial gifts of material valuables (*kwir*) at regular intervals. Such *kwir* includes shot- [777] guns, hunting dogs, blowguns, curare, feather headbands (*tsewapi*), and Western-manufactured shirts and trousers. He particularly hopes that these gifts will offset any bribes that may be offered to the higher shaman.

756 776 554 A secondary incentive for sending tribute is the need of the lower shaman to replenish his supply of magical darts

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14. Man with *tsurmat* and ear sticks. His face painting, of achiote, is purely for beautification. The shirt was obtained through the native trading partnership system (Rio Corgaimi, 1956-57).

11. Profile of same individual, showing native comb holding his hair and *tsurmat* in place.

/p. 138-9/

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Chapter VI

CULTURAL CHANGE

Information on cultural change among the interior Jívaro was obtained exclusively from elderly informants, a method which was necessitated by the lack of written records. By employing such time markers as the appearance of Halley's Comet (1910),[1] the end of visits by rubber collectors (ca. 1914–15), and the dates of the founding of various missions among the frontier Jívaro, of which the interior Jívaro were aware, approximate indications were obtained of the inception and duration of many of the changes. Such information usually consisted of reports of trends rather than of abrupt alterations in native cultural practices, the isolation of the interior area having protected the Jívaro there from the disruptive incursions of the gold miners, missionaries, and settlers to the west.

In the absence of adequate historical documentation, interviewing techniques were used which had already been developed in "salvage" or "memory" ethnography among North American Indians. Using such techniques, anthropologists in such areas as California had succeeded in making very useful reconstructions of bygone aboriginal cultures with no more than a few aged informants as their source of information. In the Jívaro case, the task was much easier, in that there was still a fully functioning native culture and a variety of good informants whose accounts could be compared in determining what changes had occurred during their lifetimes.

To check the reliability of the oral accounts of cultural

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did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[2] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

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The introduction of machetes and steel axes has made woodworking and tree felling more efficient and rapid. The formerly tedious work of felling trees for garden clearings with the aboriginal stone axes has been described by Up de Graff for the Jivaroan "Antipes" (a neighborhood of the Aguaruna or Huambisa) among whom he resided in the late nineteenth century:

> If you saw the one-handed stone axes which are the only tools these people have with which to fell the enormous trees, many of them three to five feet in diameter, to make their clearings (often five acres in extent), you would wonder how it were possible to accomplish this feat. It is a feat of patience rather than of skill. The wood is not cut, but reduced to a pulp, six or eight men working round one tree at the same time.
>
> The first step in making a *chacra* [Spanish: garden] is to remove the undergrowth, the soft stems are cut with hardwood machetes, what can be torn up by the roots is torn up, and the small saplings are snapped off by main force. Then the attention of the workers is turned to the larger trees. A ring is cut round the trunks of all the trees within a radius of, say, a hundred feet of some picked giant, enough to weaken them, and prepare them for the final strain which breaks them off. Finally the giant itself is attacked by a party with axes which works *for days and weeks* [emphasis supplied], until at last there comes a day when the great trunk has been eaten away sufficiently for it to crack and fall. But it does not fall alone, for it drags with it all the smaller trees in its vicinity which are bound to it and to one another by an unbreakable network of creepers among the upper branches . . .
>
> After leaving the trees to lie for several months during the dry season, the Antipas fire them, a process which eliminates all the smaller limbs and bush, leaving only the trunks, to deal with which they have no tools. I have examined the stumps of these

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Shuman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level.

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jivaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jivaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jivaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available.

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge.

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc-

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178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
779 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
778 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
[787] firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
276 become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
824 uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
756 have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
755 Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jivaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the
823 active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
• 177 from the frontier Jivaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
797 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jivaro, Tutpark, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jivaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jivaro

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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182 fairs), but the absence of such a third force to represent ef-
797 fectively the economic interests of the Jívaro within the
648 governmental structure places the Indians under serious obligations to the missionaries and often limits their independence of action.

• 177 Still, the Jívaro have clearly opted for adaptation to a
178 Western life style and seem to have no brief for maintaining
182 traditional features of their native life simply for tradition's sake alone. While they undoubtedly will wish to preserve and even revive certain aspects of their old culture within the context of a desire for an ethnic identity, at this moment in time they seem to be basically focused upon acquiring what they discern as the most positive features of the whites' life. Whether their eventual fate will parallel that of their North American counterparts, who went through similar attempts at adaptation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or whether the twentieth century will be kinder, is a question that remains to be answered.

121 In any case, the culture of the Jívaro as described in this book now largely belongs to history. Personally, I view it as a loss, emotionally and scientifically, and only hope that these meager efforts will help preserve a record of what was once a magnificently distinctive life style.

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4. One exception is the fireball *arutam*, which only vanishes slowly when touched.

5. Persons who have seen *arutams* can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. One of the recognized reasons a father helps his son acquire an *arutam* soul is so that a public awareness of his son's supernatural power to avenge will provide protection for the father in case the latter loses his own *arutam* soul(s).

6. There is also a rare super-*arutam*, *awasa*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

7. The *arutam* soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

8. Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between men of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

9. *Muisak* may alternatively be pronounced *wuisha*.

10. When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *muisak* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him.

11. A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the *tsentsa*. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material.

12. Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

13. Cf. Der Marderosian et al., 1968.

14. The mythological first shaman.

15. This is a halo of *tsentsak*, analogous to a feather "crown" sometimes worn by *kakaram*, which is seen as floating over the shaman's head (see Plate 14).

16. The breezes are caused by his *tsentsak* flying around.

17. Particularly on his shoulders.

18. The most powerful shamans (typically of the Canelos tribe) known to the Jivaro (see pp. 119-21).

CHAPTER 9

1. Davidson (1949, p. 91) mentions a dispute over river fishing rights in the Río Yurupaza neighborhood west of the Río Upano, but this is an area in which natural resource scarcity had already developed significantly as a consequence of immigration by white colonists from the province of Azuay.

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000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one concerning from the Río Chigüaza region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 • 197 765 532 727 778 [325] 6. The Jívaro, their Jívaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the trophy. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1963, pp. 37-40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 6-8; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76-78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only minimum (although corruption the others pretend they are real), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 7. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have connected with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro conceptual so much it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vasco Galindo, 1892, p. 40; Compte, 1883, p. 56, and oral historian recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

6. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

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